AIM

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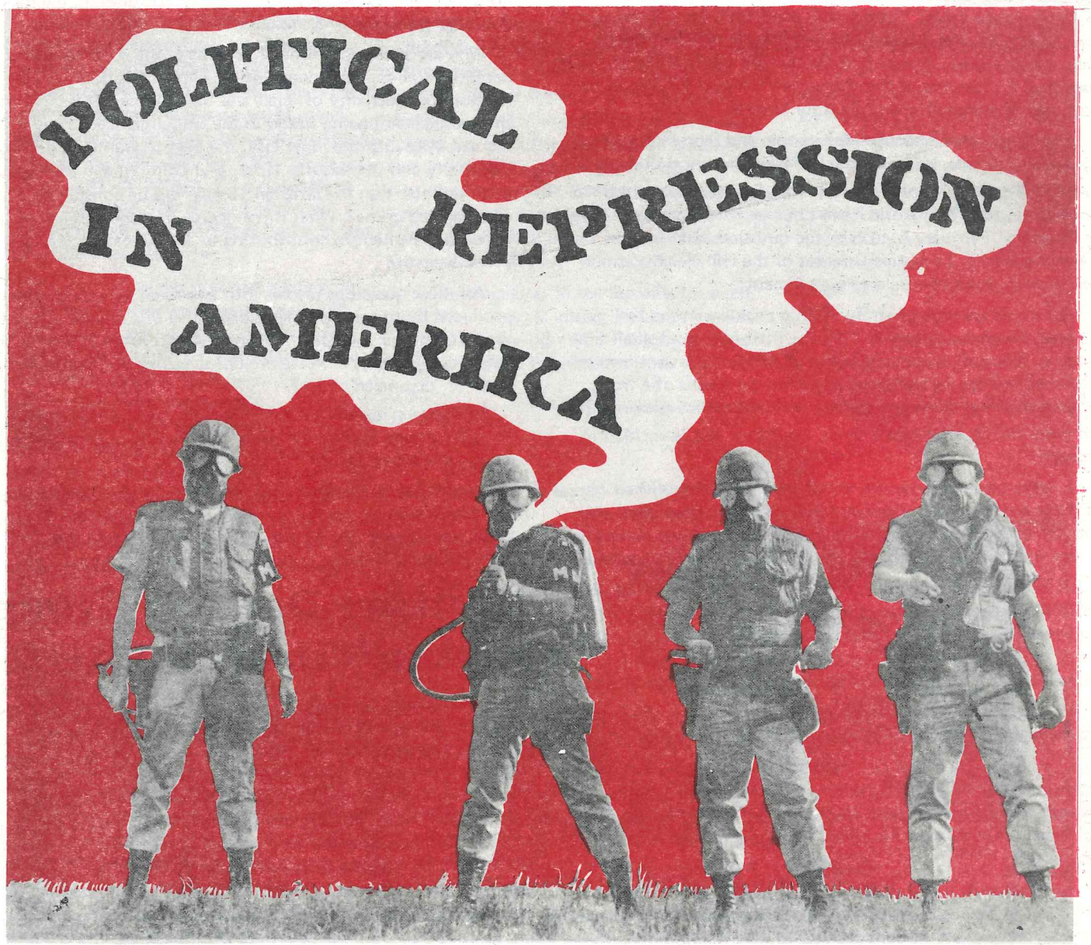

& the NEW HAVEN CONSPIRACY

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news briefs

Police Paid Agent To Commit Crimes in Hill

This past weekend, a black shop-owner on Congress Avenue was shot to death, supposedly in an argument with a customer. On Monday, it was revealed that the "shop-owner" was actually an undercover policeman and that the police-financed "shop" had been in the business of policy-playing, fencing stolen property and selling hard drugs. Twenty-four black men were arrested, and Fred Smith, 23, was charged with first degree murder. Police Chief James Ahern , Mayor Bart Guida, and the New Haven papers played up the heroism of the policeman, lowered the flag to half-mast, and attended an elaborate state funeral.

A large group of neighborhood people and representatives of various city groups, including the Hill Neighborhood Corporation, NARCO, The Black Panther Party, AIM, Freedom Now, the Welfare MOMS, the Third World Teen Lounge, held a press conference on Thursday, February 5, to raise the questions that follow. J. Vernon Moore, Executive Director of the Hill Neighborhood Corporation, made the following statement:

"We know we have a horrifying drug problem in the Hill, but the area residents engaged in it are the little users and small-time pushers. When an undercover agent of the police is sent into the nieghborhood to uncover these activities by means of a front for drug pushing, dealing in stolen goods and policy-playing, the common citizen must raise certain questions and is entitled to answers.

1. Who benefits from this operation? All 23 published names of those arrested were of persons previously arrested on similar charges, except for the teenager, and could have been picked up at any time. How much really new information was uncovered?

Of new criminal activity discovered, how much was actually initiated, fomented and encouraged by the undercover agent? How many juveniles started taking drugs through this encouragement? How much activity was truly "uncovered," that is, activity which would have occurred anyway without this instigation?

2. Is this the way the citizens want money spent when the city is required to raise taxes to pay for constructive activities?

3. How much control did the Police Department have over activities of its undercover agent? Did Chief Ahern specifically instruct his agent to perform each activity? Did Chief Ahern require daily reports from his agent? Did he give permission for each activity?

4. What is the *moral* cost to the Hill community? How many children and teenagers *started* using drugs as a result of the agent's activity. How many persons *started* to play the numbers when the new spot opened up? (You can't play numbers without a numbers player, just as you can't play basketball without a basket.) When the Hill rose up to fight the *large* narcotics sources after the death of a 16-year old from an overdose, where were Chief Ahern and other city officials? Why were arrests made only of *small* pushers? How many small-time narcotics pushers *started* stealing, when the agent offered money for the goods and an assured market?

5. What is the *moral* cost to the whole New Haven community? Who gives State's Attorney Arnold Markle and Police Chief Ahern the right to encourage people to engage in illegal activities? Who gives them the right to aid in the committing of crime? What percentage of *all* crime in New Haven could be considered to be instigated by the Police Department through their games of entrapment? Why do the police concentrate on arrests in the ghetto, an already depressed area, and what does that indicate about discriminatory attitudes on the part of the larger community as represented by its city officials?

Why are there no arrests of persons at the *main source* of the narcotics trade? What does this indicate about political connections between city officials and that source? It is clear that the source is not being found in the Hill. Organized crime is feeding narcotics into the inner-city, the best residential sections, Yale University and the suburbs alike. Our children and teenagers are their victims. Can the arrested 15-year-old be considered a part of organized crime? What is the degree of responsibility of the Police Department in contributing to an altercation resulting in a man's death?

All these questions resolve into two main issues: Do the ends produced by this police operation justify *this* means? Does this event, tragic for the dead man and the defendent as well as the whole community, indicate prejudice *against* the ghetto and *in favor of* organized crime?

New Haven residents have a right to expect accountability from the Police Department as to its activities and their cost in money and moral values."

In addition to demand answers to these questions, the groups have established a fund for the defense of Fred Smith. Contributions may be sent c/o the Hill Neighborhood Corporation, 296 Columbus Avenue, New Haven, or call 777-6371.

Panther Defense Groups Meet in Westport, Hartford

Over the past few weeks, the Coalition for the Defense of the Panthers has gained momentum. Television interviews and speaking engagements have allowed the group to begin to raise questions in people's minds about the handling of the Black Panther defendants. At 8 p.m. on February 12, the Fairfield County affiliate of the Defense Coalition is sponsoring a large public meeting in Westport at the Unitarian Church. In March, Justice, Order and Equality, a statewide organization based in Hartford, is holding a two day seminar on the Bill of Rights in the 1970's, which will feature discussion of the New Haven case.

Multiple efforts are underway to undercut the various harassment and pressure tactics which the police and prosecution are implementing against the defendants.

Recent court hearings on motions for dismissal, production of evidence and modification of pre-trial detention have produced further evidence about the high-handed, unconstitutional methods

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Panther Party Won't Be Broken

Last week Frances Carter was sent to jail indefinitely for the sole "crime" of being a Panther. Her case is only one example of how rights are being denied more and more in America.

AIM and the Coalition to Defend the Panthers have pointed out all along that the Panthers will be treated worse just because they are Panthers. The prosecution's motives in this case are political. This case is part of the nationwide attempt to smash the Black Panther Party because it represents the people. As the events in the case develop, this pattern becomes more and more clear. Frances Carter's case is the best example so far.

Frances Carter was arrested along with others last May and was charged with two capital cirmes. Denied bail, she sat in jail for eight months. The establishment press carried story after story of how the prosecution said she was guilty. After five weeks, the Panther lawyers forced a precedent-setting decision—the Judge recognized that there was absolutely no evidence of a capital crime against her. This meant he had to release her on bond, which he did reluctantly. Frances Carter is the first capital defendant in Connecticut history to be released on bond.

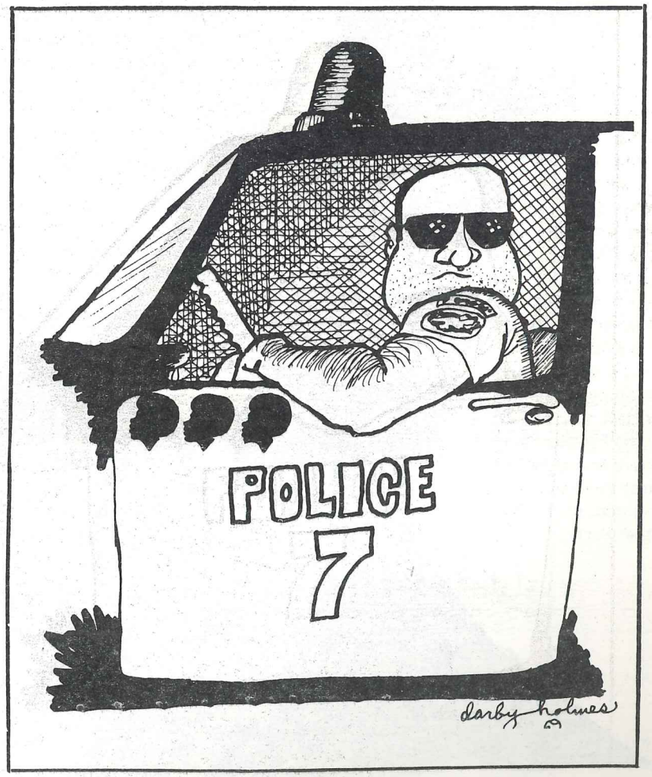
One day later, State's Attorney Arnold Markle interrupted a defense hearing and subpoenaed Miss Carter to take the stand and testify for the state. She refused to testify against her brothers and sisters on the grounds that she was a defendant in the case and had a Constitutional right not to testify until she chose. Then Markle invoked a brand new Connecticut law. He granted her immunity from prosecution in the case, stripping her of her Constitutional right to choose whether and when to take the stand. He then forced her to take the stand and choose whether to testify or be thrown back in jail. She quickly chose not to testify and was shackled and dragged back to prison at Niantic.

The prosecutor's tactic was strongly attacked on legal grounds by Miss Carter's attorney in court. An appeal is planned which may result in reversal. But, whatever the legal technicalities, the obvious unfairness of this prosecution tactic reveals a great deal about the real motives behind the Panther prosecution. Since last May, the state has claimed to the press and media that the Panthers were all guilty, and the case was wrapped up. But, in the extensive hearing, they were totally unable to come up with a solid case against any of the Panthers and failed totally to produce any evidence on Miss Carter. And this despite the fact that the judge was completely biased against the Panthers and leaned over backwards to help the state. So the prosecution held her on totally unfounded charges for eight months and forced her to undergo her pregnancy and delivery in rotten jail conditions in the hope that she would break down and turn state's evidence as others have done.

They held her in jail illegally for eight months but were unable to break her spirit or bend her mind. When at long last, she was freed, the state had to think up another way to clap her back in jail and keep her from telling her story to the world. They took her back the very next day. She's in jail solely because she's a Panther. That's America, 1970.

Prosecution Motives

There has been a lot written about the judge's order prohibiting both disclosures about the case from the defense and prosecution and picketing within 500 feet of the courthouse. These orders were issued in November supposedly "...to see that every defendant receives all of his constitutional rights." Judge Palmer's sudden concern for Constitutional rights is obvious hogwash. If he'd been interested in anyone's Constitutional rights, he could have stepped in anytime in the past seven months and stopped the barrage of unconstitutional newspaper and TV publicity coming from the police and prosecution. Instead, he was silent for seven months. So the police had a field day with the media. Then, when the time finally came for the prosecution to come up with solid evidence, the judge felt the need to clamp down on publicity.

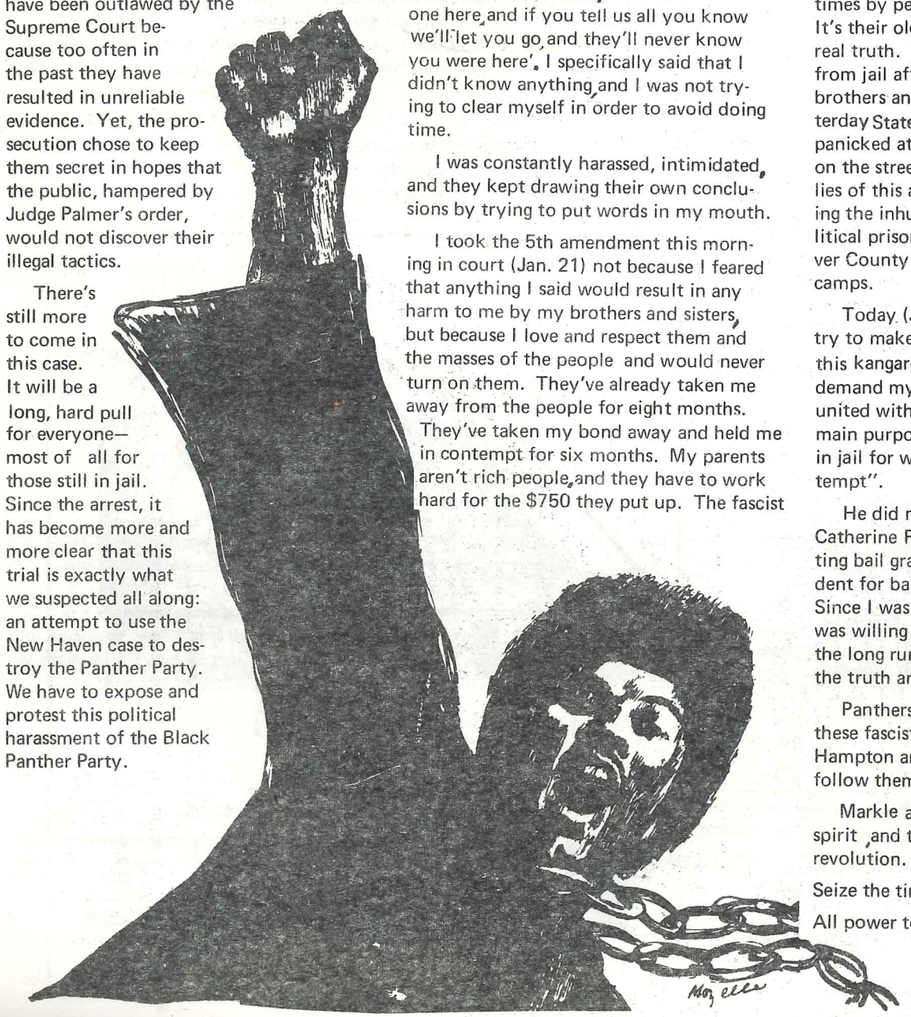


This is the state's idea of fair play. As long as they can totally control the source of news, then publicity is fine. When they lose their total control, then they shut if off. That's America, 1970.

Police Pressure

The final development was defendant Warren Kimbro's guilty plea to second degree murder. At first, everyone was confused. But when the Coalition for the Defense of the Panthers accidentally discovered the facts, everything was clear once again. The Coalition has revealed that Kimbro was visited in jail by his brother, a high police official, who put heavy pressure on him to turn state's evidence in return for a light sentence. It was also revealed in court that a New Haven detective interrogated Kimbro in his jail cell illegally to get him to turn state's evidence. Both of these police tactics are completely illegal and have been outlawed by the Supreme Court because too often in the past they have resulted in unreliable evidence. Yet, the prosecution chose to keep them secret in hopes that the public, hampered by Judge Palmer's order, would not discover their illegal tactics.

There's still more to come in this case. It will be a long, hard pull for everyone—most of all for those still in jail. Since the arrest, it has become more and more clear that this trial is exactly what we suspected all along: an attempt to use the New Haven case to destroy the Panther Party. We have to expose and protest this political harassment of the Black Panther Party.



MESSAGE OF FRANCES CARTER

I was notified by my attorney that pig Steve Ahern accused me of informing against my brothers and sisters. The detailed account he gave me was very cleverly planned. This is another fascist attempt to try to cause inner-party struggles.

When I was first picked up in Bridgeport, I did not know why I was busted, other than it was supposedly that I was involved in a hit and run car accident. I was kidnapped off of my job. When I got to the New Haven Police Department, I was not allowed any calls, mainly for fear that I would notify the other Panthers. The two pigs and Ahern started flashing pictures and shooting questions. They did not advise me of my Constitutional rights. Throughout the interrogation, they constantly tried to use their bribes like, 'You're the first one here, and if you tell us all you know we'll let you go, and they'll never know you were here'. I specifically said that I didn't know anything, and I was not trying to clear myself in order to avoid doing time.

I was constantly harassed, intimidated, and they kept drawing their own conclusions by trying to put words in my mouth.

I took the 5th amendment this morning in court (Jan. 21) not because I feared that anything I said would result in any harm to me by my brothers and sisters, but because I love and respect them and the masses of the people and would never turn on them. They've already taken me away from the people for eight months. They've taken my bond away and held me in contempt for six months. My parents aren't rich people, and they have to work hard for the $750 they put up. The fascist pigs stole $750 from them. They took me away from my two-month old baby. They're going to take me away from my sisters and place me in triple isolation until I give in to them. But I'd rather rot in jail rather than to give the state's attorney a chance to try to gain some manhood (which he lacks) or inflate his ego anymore than what it is. I have the people with me. As long as they remain to have faith in me, I'll remain strong.

Why did they choose me to do this to? Because they know they lack evidence to convict me, that I was foolish enough to give a statement which by now is totally rephrased to suit them with everything taken out of context.

The information that the pigs are using against me have been repeated numerous times by people who have testified before. It's their old fascist tactic to cover up the real truth. Two days ago I was released from jail after eight months, as all of my brothers and sisters should have been. Yesterday State Attorney Arnold (Hog) Markle panicked at the idea of a Panther sister out on the streets exposing to the people the lies of this alleged murder case and exposing the inhumane treatment given to political prisoners in Niantic, Litchfield, Denver County and numerous other detention camps.

Today (January 21) Markle planned to try to make me testify against my will in this kangaroo trial. He knew that I would demand my Constitutional rights to remain united with my brothers and sisters. His main purpose today was to get me back in jail for what is mistakenly called "contempt".

He did not believe that my lawyer, Catherine Roraback, could succeed in getting bail granted for me and setting precedent for bail in the State of Connecticut. Since I was out, he wanted me back in and was willing to use any means necessary. In the long run, the people will start realizing the truth and deal with it.

Panthers are jailed and murdered by these fascist dogs, as in the case of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and more will follow them.

Markle and his lackey s cannot jail my spirit, and they definitely can't jail the revolution.

Seize the time.

All power to the people.

Frances Carter
Political Prisoner

CONSPIRACY: The Prosecutor's Darling

On February 21 an all-day event will invade the New Haven Green: political films, folkmusic, talks in large and small groups by and with "conspirators," and guerrilla theater. This will come at the end of a whole week of activities planned by the New Haven Committee for the Winter-Spring Offensive Against the War in Vietnam. It will be a week for everyone to participate in. The theme—the trial of the Conspiracy 8 in Chicago. Anti-war groups all over the country are planning activities from February 14-21 to focus on the repression of anti-war and other radical groups.

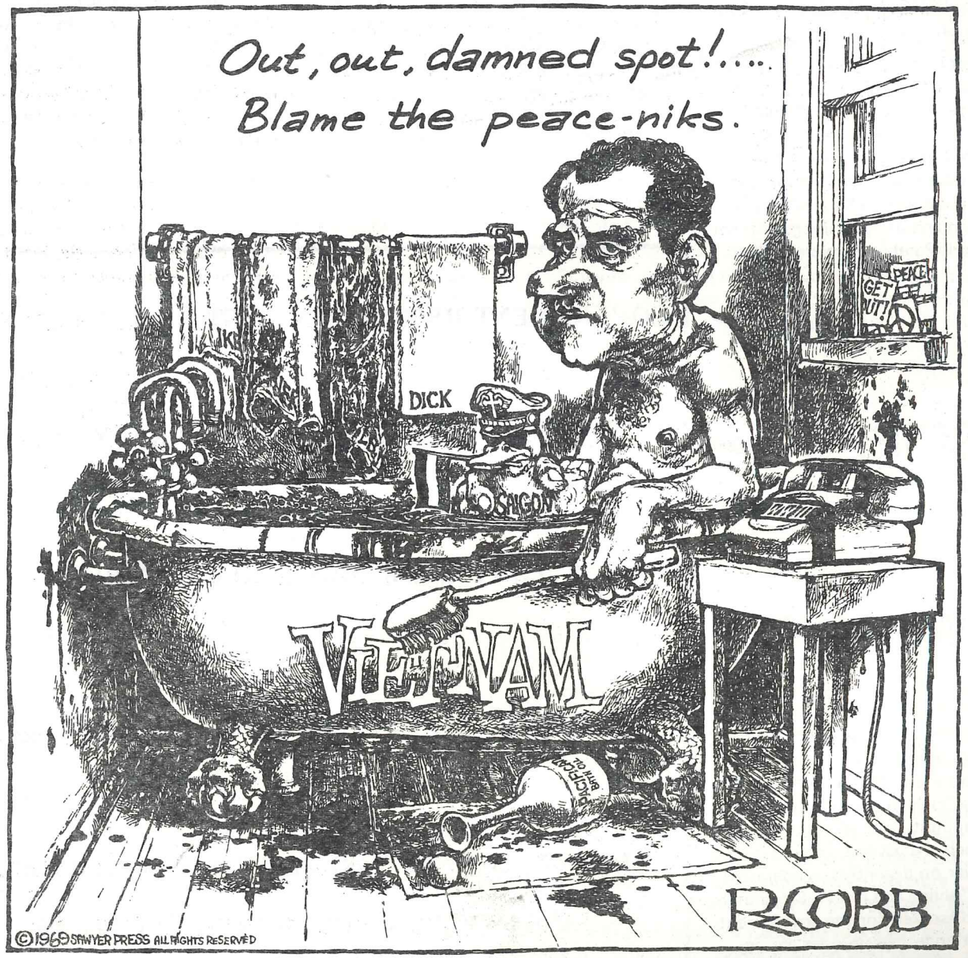
These men, the Chicago Conspiracy 8, were among the many people who planned the anti-war activities in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic Convention. Most people remember those days because of what they saw on television—what a government report called "a police riot." Now the government claims that the Conspiracy 8 is responsible for that riot.

Who Are the Chicago 8?

On March 21, 1969, a federal grand jury indicted Bobby Seale, Dave Dellinger, Lee Weiner, Tom Hayden, John Froines, Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman and Rennie Davis—the Chicago 8. They were charged with criminal conspiracy to "incite, organize, promote, encourage, participate in, and carry on a riot" at the Democratic Convention in August, 1968.

Battle of Chicago

What really happened at Chicago was that in response to a public call for massive demonstrations at the convention against the war in Vietnam and deteriorating conditions at home, many thousands of people went to Chicago for peaceful marches and rallies. Attempts to secure parade and assembly permits were frustrated by Mayor Daley in order to create a climate of fear and intimidation to keep people away. Daley's response to the call for demonstrations was armored tanks, helicopters and 8000 cannisters of mace.



We all saw on television that those who had gone to Chicago were maced, clubbed, and driven into the streets. Even doctors, giving aid to the injured, clergymen, newsmen and passersby were attacked and ruthlessly beaten. President Johnson's own Walker Commission, writing close to the events, described the spectacle surrounding the 1968 convention as a "police riot." In the words of the Conspiracy 8: "The actual crime was that thousands of people successfully frustrated the government's plan to have its war policies quietly ratified by a rigged convention in a city purged of public protest."

Anti-riot Law

These indictments are based on a law inserted into the Civil Rights Act of 1968 by Strom Thurmond after urban rebellions that followed the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in April, 1968. The law makes it a crime to cross state lines with the intent to promote "civil disorder."

The anti-war movement has successfully exposed the atrocities of U.S. policy in Vietnam. However, it is time now to expose the measures that the U.S. government is taking to silence those who oppose these policies within the U.S. The Chicago Conspiracy Trial is one such example. The recent wideapread arrests and killings of members of the Black Panther Partyareanother.

Other recent examples of the government using conspiracy trials as a weapon against the anti-war movement are the Spock-Coffin trial for conspiracy to violate the draft law and the Oakland Seven trial for conspiracy to commit misdemeanors during anti-war demonstrations in Oakland in 1967. In all these so-called conspiracy cases, thousands of people were really involved, but only the most prominent were singled out in an attempt to discourage everyone else. Such trials also signify that the government's fears of the white radical movement are approaching its fears of the black movement.

Legal Repression

In the past, the government often used the courts to silence anyone who questioned or attacked the established order. It hoped to convict and jail the most active dissenters. At the very least, the mere bringing of charges tied-up leaders, hindered organizational activities and put a heavy financial strain on the individuals and groups concerned. Such "legal repression" has also been used to create an atmosphere of public hysteria.

Criminal conspiracy was first used in the U.S. to break a shoemakers' strike in Philadelphia in 1806 (Philadelphia Cordwainers Case). Our history is full of unjust or doubtful convictions of radicals—such as the Hay Market Square defendants, Joe Hill, Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings, the Rosenbergs and the anti-communist convictions of the McCarthy era. In most cases, after conviction and sometimes execution, the defendants were found to be innocent.

During the last 15 years the federal government has tried to create an image of an "objective" protector of an "objective" set of laws. The commissions appointed by the President to investigate police brutality during the black summer revolts of 1966 and 1967 and the violence at the Chicago convention are part of this image. But this facade of objectivity has been erased by the actions of the Justice Department in the past year. A government that begins the Conspiracy Trial and talks of "ideological criminals" is not standing on the sidelines. A government responsible for the type of repression that the Panthers face is a government that is putting aside justice in order to declare political war.

CONSPIRACY — THE WEAPON

The significance of the Chicago Conspiracy trial reaches beyond the fates of the eight courageous men. The government uses conspiracy trials to try to punish people for their thoughts, intentions and speech. This tactic which the government has used as part of its war on dissenters is commonly referred to as "divide and rule." Since there are too many dissenters for the government to pursue all at once, certain ones are singled out. Then dissenters become so scared of each other that they are unable to mount an effective offensive.

GOVERNMENT REPRESSION MUST BE STOPPED NOW.

SUPPORT THE CHICAGO CONSPIRACY 8

SUPPORT YOUR RIGHT TO CONSPIRE

JOIN THE CONSPIRACY, Feb. 21, on the Green.

ALL-DAY EVENT WILL TAKE PLACE IN A HEATED ENCLOSURE

AND INCLUDE SPEAKERS, MUSIC AND FLICKS.

G.E. Strike and The Labor Movement

After 14 weeks the strike at General Electric has been settled. Perhaps the most important gain achieved was not in the wage and benefit package conceded by the company, but in the solidarity which developed between the two major unions. GE has profited for years from this split between unions at the expense of the workers. Still another gain for labor is the thrust that GE's forced shift from its take-it-or-leave-it policy will give to other workers seeking higher wages in this period of rising cost-of-living and increasing taxes.

Following is an interview with Don Tormey, International Representative for the United Electrical Workers Union (UE) for eastern Massachusetts. He worked at the Ashland, Mass., GE plant with the workers during the current strike.

The UE is the second largest of the 13 unions which struck the General Electric Company; the IUE (International Union of Electrical Workers) is the largest. The UE is one of the few unions that did not totally repudiate its radical past during the red-baiting of the 1950's. Tormey has been an organizer for the UE since 1939.

How do you see this strike at this point in the history of the labor movement?

The significance of this particular strike in GE is that it's the first real effort made to unite GE workers since the split in the union movement in 1949 and 1950.

The effort was possible because the company has treated all of its employees, regardless of what union they're in, the same way, with constant attempts to speed up. They've had 20 years of inferior contracts, inferior wage settlements, and inferior fringe benefit settlements.

The IUE was created to split the UE in 1949, on a sort of a patriotic binge to get rid of foreign spies who they call "reds," meaning the union and its program. The effects of the Cold War on the labor movement have been more devastating in the electrical manufacturing industry than they have in auto or steel. Other industries didn't suffer to the extent of an organizational split which made it impossible to wage a united fight against the General Electric Company. It was possible to have a united fight against General Motors, or Bethlehem Steel, or Chrysler, or whoever.

Now if this unity of the various unions in the General Electric Company can succeed in winning the strike, then it will be a platform for even further unity in the future and creates the possibility of uniting all forces at some stage in organic unity, all GE workers in one union again.

Outside the electrical industry, what about the whole government approach to unions?

The attempt by the government to bust unions has been going on since the passage of the Taft-Hartley law. The passage of the Taft-Hartley law was designed by corporation lawyers, chief among whom was a GE lawyer by the name of Gerard Reilly.

It came about as a result of the obvious gains to be made by a united labor movement, as in 1946 when the steel workers and the auto workers and the electrical workers in all the major plants

You have to know who all the bosses are.

went on strike at the same time, for the same demand. All won the strike; all won the same settlement. There were nearly half a million workers on strike at that time. That strike ended in the spring of 1946.

By the end of 1946, the Taft-Hartley law had already passed the Congress, based on the necessity, according to those who wanted to have the law passed, of breaking the "monopoly" hold of labor in the United States and making it "fair" for companies to petition for elections and to be able to speak to employees inside the plant singly and in groups against the union policies.

In addition to that, the 1946 strike resulted in a great propaganda campaign against this united labor movement on the grounds that it had been led at least in part by communists. (The charge of communism against the CIO stemmed from its early organizing days in the middle thirties, and the first charge actually came from the A.F. of L. bureaucrats who didn't want the CIO to organize.)

So the Taft-Hartley law included a section which said that people would not be able to use the National Labor Relations Act in order to organize and hold elections, as had previously been done, unless they signed affidavits that they were not members of the Communist Party.

The trade union movement, both the A.F. of L. and the CIO at the beginning, described the law for exactly what it was, a fink law, and decided they wouldn't even use it. They thought that the combined unions had enough strength to organize and win all kinds of things without any law.

That broke down in the CIO on the grounds that the CIO was not strong enough to organize in the South, mainly in the textiles and in other unorganized plants in the South, without using the National Labor Relations Act. Therefore it was necessary for those unions who wanted to organize in the South to participate in the National Labor Relations Act and sign affidavits that they weren't Communists, no hard feelings, etc., but this was necessary for them.

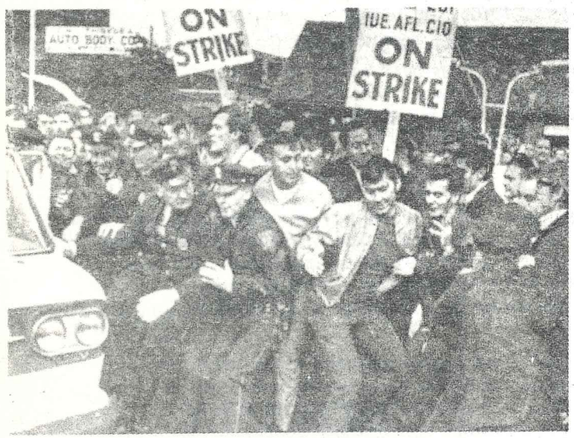
February 15, 1970

Not only did the South not get organized, but those unions that signed the affidavits then began to raid other unions, including the UE, who had not signed them. And the unions that had not signed the affidavits could not get on the ballot, so that in order to vote for the UE it was necessary to vote for no union at all; there was no way to be on the ballot. The first raids in our industry took place under the leadership of the UAW, where the UAW had signed the affidavits and the UE had not, and the UAW promptly raided the UE, mainly in New England. They took over the city of Hartford.

By 1949 the division in the labor movement had become plain, and the national convention of the CIO actually expelled eleven unions from the CIO. There are only one or two left, of which the UE is only a fraction of its former self. After the expulsion, the Un-American Activities Committee and, as time went on, the McCarthy Committee and all the various state Un-American Activities committees began their attacks on the UE and further decimated it.

This lasted through the whole McCarthy period, through the whole Korean war, and during all the period when the United States was convinced that the Cold War was necessary. All of America was frightened, professors were chased out of the university, labor people were sent to jail for perjury on the grounds that they had signed non-Communist affidavits and some witness said that they were Communists. This continued for a long time, right up until the people in the United States began to believe that perhaps they weren't going to win the war in Vietnam.

As a result of the opposition to the Vietnamese war by the



G. E. bosses flunkies let the scabs through

students in the United States, and their refusal to shut up about it and the calling of teach-ins by which they recruited some professors to the anti-war ranks, it made it a little more respectable for all kinds of other people who were afraid to speak out beforehand to begin speaking out on the Vietnam war.

It resulted in unions and people like those in the UE who had always been against this kind of thing, being much freer to speak themselves. And other areas of the trade union movement began to break away, such as Walter Reuther's breaking away from the AFL-CIO, his refusal to be a part of what he himself had brought about or helped to bring about in the 1950's. It's now respectable in the trade union movement to be for peace and to demand that everyone come home, and this corresponds to a deepening attempt on the part of American corporations, the General Electric Company in particular, to put the heat on.

The result of the war and the profiteering of the war has led to inflation, and the inflation shows no sign of stopping, and the people who are going to pay for inflation if American industry has its way, are the common ordinary American working people. We don't plan to pay for the inflation that we don't believe we had anything to do about. Those unions that did participate actively in helping to create the whole Cold War mentality in the United States and in the organization of working people can no longer have the same position as General Electric on foreign policy or any other policy that tends to create inflation or bad times at home for their own members.

That necessity led to a unity of negotiations and a unity in the strike against GE. We believe that unity which was built in the most disunited section of the trade union movement, at least in its industrial sections, will lead to the possibility of a further unity of those other unions that are disaffected with the executive council of the AF of L for whatever reason—Reuther, Teamsters, whatever. A new coalition of unions will be created based on defending the rights of their members in industry against the employer, based on an opposition to any further adventures by American imperialism which kills off the young population and leads to inflation and hard times at home.

The time is right, and the effect of the GE strike may well make it ripen even further, for developing a coalition of trade union people with students, university people, intellectuals, and that part of the population which is opposed to war and imperialism. That can be one of the effects of a successful strike in the General Electric Company.

Where do you see that heading in the next few years?

If American industry and those oil companies, manufacturing companies which exploit the resources of the third world, are not able successfully to exploit those resources of the United States, and that will lead to ever sharper clashes.

Now those clashes are bound to take the course of strikes; they're also bound on the other side to take the course of even greater repressive legislation against trade unions. There's been a campaign now for several years in the United States to pass a law forbidding industry-wide bargaining. Not only industry-wide as it related to a whole industry like the electrical industry or the auto industry ot the steel industry, but, in effect, company-wide bargaining of multi-plant companies like General Motors, or U.S. Steel, or General Electric or Westinghouse; thereby further splitting up the trade union movement so that each little plant local must defend itself and that no other union can participate in the defense of one local that may be engaged in a struggle or a strike against its own plant management or a multi-plant company.

Do you think the fear or opposing capitalism will ease off now?

There are a lot of fears of opposing capitalism in the United States. I think it will ease off the large part of the population the same way the fear of being opposed to the Vietnam war eased off. There is an element in the United States which is not afraid; that's the young students and the black people. As these people carry on the fight they're carrying on, it makes it a lot easier for other sections of the population to do the same. So far as losing fear of repressive government or repressive corporations, the historic role of the trade union movement was reversed. The students had to show us the way.

I'm not so sure that the students will not also show us the way not to be afraid of trying to introduce Socialism into the United States. Although, there's no way to do it without the working class. But they're helping us all lose fear, by questioning, re-

examining the kind of arguments that say that private enterprise is the way it always it has to be, that's the way it's always going to be.

So far as working people are concerned, at least in my memory, what private enterprise has brought us is depression, war, inflation, depression, war, inflation, in just one round, one after another during my lifetime. Repeated too many times, people get pretty tired of it. There's no question that in every capitalist country in what is called the "free world," the people who control the economy turn to fascism before they will allow the people to establish socialism.

There is no reason to believe that the American capitalist class will act any different than the German capitalist class, or the Spanish capitalist class, or the Italian capitalist class, or the Greek capitalist class. If the issue is joined that under capitalism there can only be depression and wars and inflation, and this is necessary to maintain private enterprise, those who own the natural wealth, the private enterprise, will accept fascism as a form of life in the United States rather than give it up.

And the trade union movement, the organized labor movement, and those who want to fight for a decent life or even to maintain the normal, democratic rights that we've known, or that at least white people in America have known, it's going to be a terrific struggle just to maintain that.

I think there would have to be a crisis in which the ruling class is unable to control things before any successful change in the structure of society can take place.

How close was that kind of situation approached in the 'Thirties?

Well, I don't think it was really approached that close. There were a lot of instances in the 'thirties when groups of perfectly respectable working men simply robbed the local A&P and Stop-and-Shop and First National or chain store. Not just robbed them, but sometimes publicly just told the clerks and management that they can't pay enough and walked away with the groceries. There were plenty of instances of the eviction of tenants and the calling in of mortgages on farms where the farms were being auctioned off and bought back for two bucks. The auctioneers were forced to take the bid. This happened in many areas of the United States. But the government was still able to govern.

Roosevelt came to power in 1933. He had plenty of ability to govern. He issued an order and the banks closed. He put through certain kinds of legislation, developed all kinds of hopes in the minds of everybody, and there was a whole upswing.

Now sure, the whole movement got co-opted by Roosevelt and the New Deal, but so will any movement of masses of workers involved in a struggle for organizing a union, and for achieving some sort of a better standard of living. They get a dime raise or they get a better job or they get the right to talk to their boss about a grievance—they won a tremendous victory, they're ready to rest now.

If the shutdowns and the strikes and the sit-ins of the French in May of 1968, or what's been going on in Italy for the whole year of 1969 in every industry, mass strikes—if those have not yet cracked it open, well, what went on in the 1930's in the United States is like kindergarten compared to what they're doing now. It would have required much, much more.

But if you dig a few inches, you'll find that the American working class is going to prefer, and already does to the extent that they know about it, socialism to capitalism. Their idea of socialism or communism is fogged over with the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, stuff that's been going on in America since the Bolsheviks first won power. That it's against nature, that it's against what we believe to be freedom and democracy and all those things.

They have adopted the culture of the ruling class, the ideas of the ruling class. Workers want two cars instead of one, or if they don't have any, they want one. They want a color television. They see that the way to be promoted is to get rich, to be promoted is to be a boss.

There are all kinds of people in the trade union movement who think that promotion is their goal; they're an officer, or a steward or the president of a local union. The boss says, "You want to be a foreman?" They say, "You bet." And he comes back to the union and says, "I've got a chance to better myself," as though it were better for a guy to be some goddamned foreman than the president of the union, never mind what the money is involved.

G. E. workers getting it together. STRIKE! Ashland, Mass.

He may get more money, but he's not bettering himself as a representative of the working class. But it's a perfectly normal thing to happen, it happens all the time, with perfectly good people. How do we make people see that that's not an improvement, that they're not any safer as a foreman than they are in the shop or being a stooge for the boss? How do you make that any different?

Students say if we're able to take over University Hall, why aren't you able to take over a General Electric plant. Fact is, we can take over a General Electric plant. We could take this one over tomorrow. All we have to do is get the pickets together, walk in and take the plant over. We'll have it maybe for two hours. Then we'll get thrown the hell out of there by cops and everything else. In order to successfully take over something like that, there has to be almost complete unanimity of the working class to do it, every place, or in the key areas.

Now, why would people do that , why would workers agree to take over their plants, why would people take over the city hall, why would people agree to take over the governor's office or the state house? Because there is no alternative, this is the only way they can live, the other alternative is too horrible to contemplate, so they make the move.

Do you see a workers' movement relating to black movements and students or other youth movements?

I think there has to be a political arrangement, and an understanding basically on the part of workers themselves, why radical students, or any student that participates in the movement against the war, or against GE recruiters is an ally that we need for our own self-interest, to broaden our protective alliance. And they can do us a lot of good.

Basically I suppose what they're mad about is the quality of life they see around them, and the lousy future they got. And they look, and they don't see anything, and they want something changed. We want something changed; basically, I think, we want the same kind of changes. I think they are wrong in thinking how quick it's going to come or what you got to do to do it, and they're making all kinds of mistakes, but who didn't? The trade union movement should welcome the youth movement, welcome the radical kids.

The black question, well, that of course is a very special question in the United States. But, as I see it, the American trade union movement from the Civil War on, in what they considered to be their best interest, excluded blacks from trade unions. In the beginning not at all because blacks were some sort of inferior person that it wasn't fit to associate with, but on the basis that they thought the blacks would work for cheaper money at the beginning, and they would have. And it would have reduced the rate maybe a cent or two an hour because of the large influx of blacks into the industries, basically into the construction or metal-working industries.

But who the hell built the South? Who built those plantations, and who worked on those goddam docks? Blacks. Blacks were all kinds of skilled craftsmen all through the South. Everybody knew it. And they were perfectly able to take their place in the trade unions after the Civil War. And the National Labor Union wanted them to do it and urged them to do it and urged the whites to accept them. And at the second convention of the National Labor Union, they made such a motion, but back in the locals in the towns, the whites excluded them, on the grounds that they would exclude any competition for jobs and on the grounds that it would be easier to maintain the rate they were already being paid if there wasn't an influx into the shop—they did it in their own self-interest.

They gambled, and they lost. Now they may not have lost right then, but the trade union movement lost over the years. Even Eugene V. Debs' railroad union excluded blacks. In the big steel strike, led by the leader of the American Communist Party, William Z. Foster, they might have lost that strike anyway, but one of the reasons that made it more difficult was that the steel industries were able to get thousands of black people to work as scabs. Why shouldn't a black be a scab it that's the only way to get a job?

The boss wanted whites at one time, now he wants blacks; what the hell does he care, so he becomes a scab. And blacks scabbed every big strike in the United States, wherever the bosses could get ahold of them. This was one of the penalties paid for what looked like self-interest after the Civil War. And we're still paying it, and we'll continue to pay it. Not merely until we change the thing, but I think until white trade unionists in America admit that what was done in the trade union movement from the very beginning was a goddam mistake.

We did it in our self-interest, and it turns out not to be our self-interest—it's in the interest of the goddam boss. Now what is our self-interest? You don't make the change just because it's the decent thing to do or like good Christians—"let's take care of our black brothers"—that's a lot of shit—you do it on the basis of the self-interest of the white working man, that in our interest wegot to have the black worker in the unions; otherwise he's an instrument of the boss, or a potential one.

But won't the white workers' movement be unable to absorb all blacks into it because there aren't that many jobs?

That's true, to relate to that there has to be more jobs. You got to create more jobs, and the failure to create more jobs, as far as the unemployed black section of the population is concerned, may lead to the development of better organization, better struggle.

There is not going to be any real integration of black and white until there are plenty of jobs for all. Now that doesn't mean that you can't make a move until there's plenty of jobs.

The black caucuses in the UAW and in steel are going to do all right; they're going to force the issue in such a way that it will be impossible to have a stable union—just a stable union on a day-to-day, week-to-week, year-to-year basis in shops, unless the international unions and the various locals and regions accept the program of the black caucuses.

—Liberation News Service

Patriot Party Says:

All Power

by Peter O'Connell

Interview with Patriot Party Defense Captains Roger Phillips and Larry Moore, held at Patriot Party New Haven headquarters, 178 Lloyd Street.

What is the history of your group?

R.P.: The Patriot Party is a national white revolutionary organization which grew out of the Young Patriots, a street gang of white Appalachian youth in North Chicago. The Patriots went national four months ago and now have a national office in a German-American and Irish-American working-class neighborhood in the east 80's of New York City. In New Haven we emphasize the Fair Haven neighborhood.

What is the structure of the party in New Haven?

R.P.: We all live together because we say we want to practice socialism with the people, and before we practice it with the people we have to be able to practice it with ourselves. So we live together, we eat together, we sleep together. You know we share ourselves with each other all the time. We believe that if you can't live with your brothers and sisters here in the party, then you ain't going to be able to share with people out on the street. We love the people. So if we love the people, we got to share what we got with the people, and you can't expect people in the party to do that if they can't share with themselves.

What are the basic points of the Patriot Party platform?

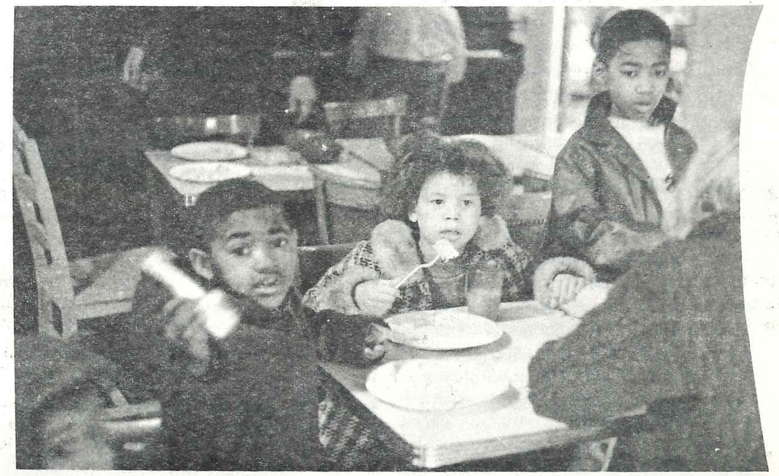
R.P.: We have a ten-point program. We demand freedom. We demand freedom from the fascist pigs and the capitalists and their system. We demand decent housing for people that live here. We demand in the courts that people be trialed the way they should be trialed and not by a fascist pig judge. We say that we demand from this system that people be trialed the way they should be and not be trialed by what color you are or how poor you are. We think a person should be trialed by his own people. I'm sure in the fuck I don't know no capitalist judge who's my kind of people. Any judge up there standing behind the stand being able to tell me ten years in the state penitentiary, he's sure in the fuck not my kind of people. And that's the same thing for the black people. To break it down, our judges are fascist because they'll lock you up for ten years and don't even give a shit about you. And they got all this bread, or else they wouldn't be a fucking judge in the first place. They're darn all capitalist pigs to me. They hurt ~~ourt~~ people.

So we demand people be proud of their people. And we demand education. We want to educate the people. We want to show the people what's happening in this system. And we want to show them the way the system's supposed to be run and the way it's not being run. For instance, all these programs that we have has got a point to them, you know. They got a reason for being there. The Breakfast Program we have for children: the system's set out where there's supposed to be nobody that's hungry, but there's still hungry kids going to school without breakfast every morning. That's something the system's supposed to take care of, you know, to see that nobody's hungry. So we're showing the people that they ain't doing it, so we're going to do it.

Tell about the breakfast program and some of the other specific programs you plan.

R.P.: Within the two weeks we've been here, we're feeding 35 to 40 kids every morning breakfast in our free breakfast program, and, from what we see, that's what people need in the community—a breakfast program. So we're going to keep going, and it's going to get stronger because that's what people need. They ain't bumming us, you know. It's not like they're

To The People



Patriot Free Breakfast Program: Eggs, sausage, chocolate milk, for fourty hungry children.

—Or Else!

coming and bumming us for something. People's response to the breakfast program is great, and the breakfast program is going great, so it gets better and better and better. We've got black kids, we've got white kids, we've got Spanish kids, but I don't really see why that makes a difference. They relate to each other because their minds ain't been fucked-up yet by the system. They ain't had time to get their minds fucked-up teaching each other to hate each other cause you're a different color. A white kid would be just as friendly to a black one in the breakfast program right now as I'd be just as friendly to you cause you're white like us. Color doesn't mean shit in the breakfast program. Cause they're still kids, man, they're human beings. Kids' minds are still on air and trees.

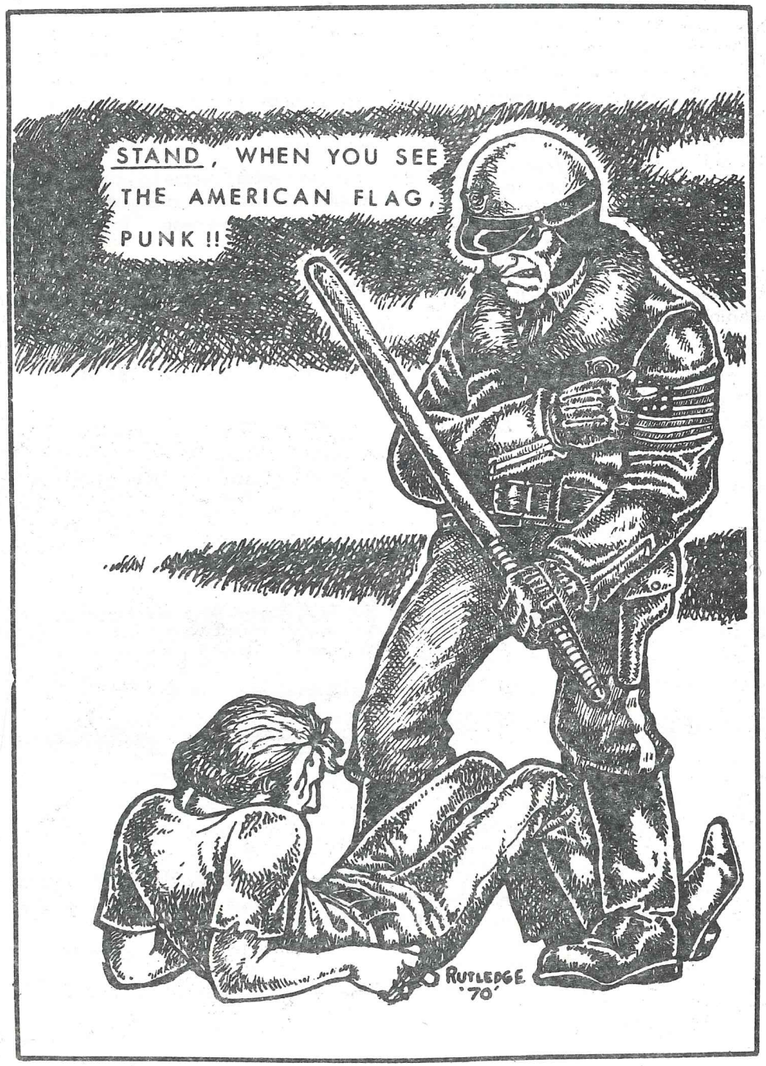
We also want to start a youth center. A place where peoplecan come any time. Come and shoot pool and sit around and dig where you're at and dig why you're there. And just to be able to talk to people and have a place for people to come. I don't know of Fair Haven having no place where people can hang out at besides the Mall downtown. And that's really fucked-up, man. That place is all fucked-up. So we're going to have a youth center, man, for people to come to for any reason. There don't have to be no certain reason for them to come to it—just for them to come and talk to people and hang out. Have some political education, educating them to the system, educating them to the truth.

L.M.: A medical clinic for medical service is also being implemented now. We'll do the medical center the way we do anything else, including the youth center. Let's say we're going to have a youth center. Right now all we have envisioned is a building with pool tables in it cause we like to play pool, and we consider ourselves part of the people too. Now the next step is to go to the people, in this case the youth, and say what do you want in it? And they decide. The same thing about medical service. Maybe certain medical needs people can meet Maybe there are others that are more difficult, so that they would just want baby doctors or dentists or eye doctors. So that's what we'll provide. We'll set the program up with the eventual aim of having the people take over the programs, which is what happened in Los Angeles. It shows the theory being put into practice with the Black Panthers. As you know, their office was vamped on, destroyed by policemen. Well, the breakfast program went on the next day, and the papers were sold the next day, and the medical clinic went on the next day, political education went on the next day, even though there were no Black Panthers left in that area. The people did it. So this shows that it has gone up to a higher level, at least in Los Angeles. Struggle has reached a high level there because now the people are dealing with it. When the people deal with it, it leaves the cadres of organizers free to go elsewhere, or to implement new programs, or to take it up to a higher level themselves.

How are you going to relate to the bad educational system that we have now?

R.P.: We don't only feed these kids breakfast and just sit there and feed them breakfast, we talk to the kids and tell them about why we're feeding them. So we're educating the kids now by talking to them when we feed them breakfast in the morning. That's educating them. And these kids are not stupid. They know if you're feeding them, and you keep talking to them, you got to have a reason for feeding them. And that's educating them right there.

They go to school, and they feed you just a bunch of bullshit again. How Christopher Columbus discovered America and all this. That's incorrect because they don't say nothing about the system, how it is, how it's run. They just say he discovered America and that's it. And they teach you that in school and how to hate niggers and shit like this. But they never



"All poor oppressed people

did tell me in school that our government took all the Indians' land, ran them off their reservations, killed their food, and stole from them. Only thing our government is is a fucking thief, a fucking bloodsucker. Just like Yale University. Everybody with money is capitalist. Everybody with a lot of bread is capitalist. And capitalists to me is bloodsuckers. They suck all poor people. Without us, they wouldn't survive. And they ain't going to survive because we ain't going to serve them our fucking asses no more. People going to rise up and take it. It belongs to the people, so we say people going to have it.

L.M.: We've had members of the Comancheros and members of the Unforgiven motorcycle gangs selling the Black Panther newspaper. We've had them over here in the house where they know what we're all about, about revolution. We tell them what revolution is, the overthrow of one class by another class. We tell them where we stand with the Black Panther Party. We tell them just where we are. They can either accept it or reject it. And we've found by being honest with the people, even if they don't accept it, they respect you. We talk revolutionary socialism to the Hell's Angels in New York, and they're on our side. This is one reason I would say, in the two weeks or so we've been in this office, at least ten nights we've had working class youths coming over here for political education classes or just coming by to check us out. And the Patriot Party cadre of organizers have daily contact with them at the Mall. We're always at the Mall.

What kind of culture is really relevant to the young people today?

L.M.: I even went to Woodstock. Woodstock has been portrayed as a sort of bourgeois place. On one level they relate to love and peace. On another level people are ready to deal. What they have learned from there is that hundreds of thousands of people can get together and be peaceful, and they have learned cooperation, a very primitive type of socialism. They have learned to relate to the black people who were there and longhairs who were there, and they have been able to deal with the whole different mixture. That's what they've learned from there But we see danger in the psychedelic revolution, or the youth revolution, or whatever, cultural revolution, grabbing hold of these people and giving them illusions, maybe illusions of free marijuana, maybe public places where people can fuck, I don't know. All these are petit bourgeois. Bourgeois revolution. And we ain't that. Cause we know that in the past all petit bourgeois revolutions ever gave was reform.

R.G.: There may be a petit bourgeois revolution, but there'd still be capitalism.

L.M.: Vanguard capitalism, headshops, $12 bellbottomed pants, $25 shirts....The only really relevant culture is revolutionary culture. Revolutionary culture deals with complete equality amongst those who are in the revolution, those who are class brothers in the revolution. And they create their own culture. We create our own culture. Roger creates his own music. We create our own forms of entertainment, our own styles of living. You have to dig on current Country and Western.

R.P. It comes down to the money thing. There's no place around here where you don't have to pay for everything you look at. Our youth center ain't going to cost people nothing.

What kinds of thinkers have influenced the Patriot Party?

L.M.: We're Marxist-Leninists, so we're interested in Marx and Lenin. We pick up from Marx the class struggle, and from Lenin we pick up our analysis of capitalism and imperialism, and back in Marx and Lenin we pick up materialism, historical and dialectical. We pick up discipline from studying every other revolutionary group. Disciplined organizations are necessary. Also we know that a party is necessary to have a revolution, checking out the past of revolutionary groups throughout the world. I was talking to a fellow in New York, who has a restaurant right next to our office, who's Greek. And he explained to me what patriot means in Greek. Originally it meant people from the same town or village who had a common bond coming from common territory who helped one another out as brothers and sisters, and that's what the patriots are about. Relate to the people as brothers and sisters, and relate to one another as brothers and sisters. Patriot also has a connotation of loving the country. We love the country. We love the people of the country. We love the Declaration of Independence. We would love the Constitution. The Constitution is groovy. Put it into practice, and everything would be all right.

Why don't you sell a Patriot Party Paper?

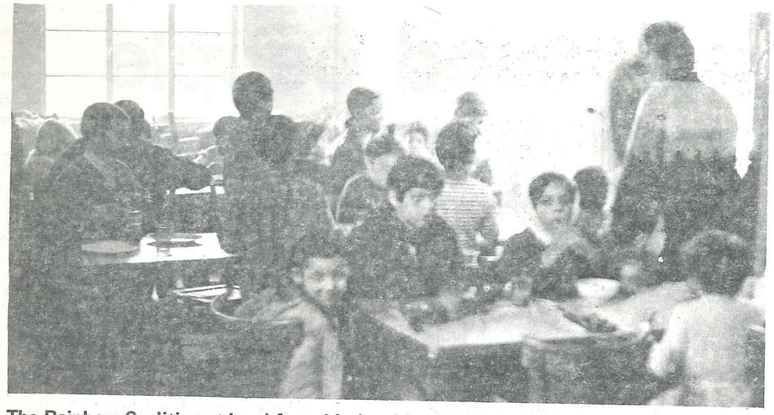
L.M.: Like Roger said, we've only been in existence for three months, and putting out a national paper is a difficult thing. We're going to have one, and New Haven will have it's own Patriot Party paper. *The New Haven Patriot*. The first copy should hit the streets in a few weeks.

What about the Rainbow Coalition?

L.M.: The Rainbow Coalition has the colors of red, black, white, brown, yellow. They represent the colors of all different minority groups or oppressed people in the United States. This is a solidarity thing, you know, all the beautiful colors together. And, on one level, this represents that the colors are nothing; it's a class struggle where all the colors are united. On another level, it's going to be the flag of the American Liberation Front.

R.P.: We can show each other another thing working with the Panthers, the class thing. We're showing people on the streets that, if the Patriot Party, which is a white radical revolutionary group, and the Panthers, which is a black revolutionary group, can work together, then color must not mean that much. So we're showing people out on the streets, we're showing them that color doesn't mean shit cause we can work together. Color is held at us all our lives. Hillbillies and niggers ain't never got along too well, and we can now work together. We're showing these Yankee people, too, they can work together too, man. I was born in West Virginia. Mountain state. But I'm sure I can love Huey P. Newton, which is a black brother. I don't see no reason why somebody Yankee as hell can't like a hillbilly.

. . . are niggers."



The Rainbow Coalition at breakfast: black, white, yellow and brown eat together.

Are you saying hillbillies are treated like niggers too?

R.P.: We're all niggers. Most people, when they hear nigger, they think somebody black. When I hear nigger, I think of somebody oppressed. And, if that's the case, all poor, oppressed people are niggers, man.

What is the cause of the violence in American Society?

R.P.: Money.

What is the role of the police in American society?

R.P.: What is there to think about them? They're there to watch over every business, man, and to fuck over the poor oppressed people; that's what they're there for. They fuck over the poor whites in different ways, see. They can run them off the streets at night. They run me off the streets at night, and I didn't have no place to go but the streets, so they locked me up, and they whipped my head with a blackjack. If that tape recorder had eyes, man, I'd record my scars. You should know that. That's how they fuck over poor white people. All poor oppressed people, not only white people. They fuck over all poor people with the same tactics they always use.

Why do the police do this?

L.M.: Take it to Chicago. Why was Black Panther Fred Hampton killed? Fred Hampton could not have been murdered in his bed by that hammerhead pig unless this was all cleared by Mayor Daley and everybody else. Whether it was open consent or tacit consent or anything you want to call it, anybody at this stage of the game who doesn't realize that we're in a state of fascism, which is open terror against the people, is a fool. Cause how many people have to be killed in their beds, how many people have to be beaten and tortured in prisons, how many frame-ups have to be made, how many times does a man have to be bound and shackled? You have this whole list of atrocities, and it's all quantitative. It's been going on since 1960. Like I say, man, you know a qualitative leap, and there's been a change from sporadic incidents to being part of the system. It's now part of the system. It's taking over the system.

But violence by the people against pigs has been justified throughout history from the French Revolution when those 100 thousand pigs' heads got cut off. Check out the reason they got their heads cut off. They were either slumlords or they were in the French secret police. You check out the people that Fidel executed. They were Batista's henchmen. They were the landlords. They were avaricious businessmen. And check it out after the American revolution. The people who won't come around, the people who won't say, "Yes, I'm willing to change." Whatever you have to do to them to make them change, you have to do. Make them pick up garbage or make Nixon paint the White House in rainbow colors. That's the job we got for him. And if they don't want to change, then off with their heads.

R.P.: We're giving them two chances. We're giving them two ways to go. They're giving us: either work for the rich man or die. We're saying that people are not having to work for nobody, they're just having to work for theirselves. When the revolution comes, man, they have to work with the people. Join it or get out, that's all.

L.M.: We've made a variation to the Panther thing. We say: "All power to the people, or else!" That's what the Patriot Party says.

What about the threat of repression of the Patriot Party?

L.M.: We relate to Executive Mandate Number Three. The Black Panther Party Minister of Defense is Huey P. Newton. He is also the Patriot Party Minister of Defense. Pigs can't come in here, that's all. On the other hand, we're surprised that they've let us go as far as they have already, that they hadn't nipped it in the bud when there were only four Patriots going around the country talking. And now there are lots more than that. And if leadership gets ripped off, the rest of us will continue it. They've already let it go too far. At this point,we're swamped with letters and phone calls to go places and organize, but we don't have the personnel to do it. This week we received letters from Knoxville, Tennessee; a small town in Arkansas; a place in Virginia; Atlanta, Georgia,where we're going; Jackson, Mississippi, where we're going; Clinch Valley, West Virginia, where we're going; Prince George's County, Maryland, where we have people down there now putting together a branch that will be functioning at the end of this week; the whole Central Valley of California; Seattle, Washington; Boston , South Bronx in New York; Brighton area of Brooklyn; certain sections on Long Island—all across the country.

How do you relate to the anti-war movement?

L.M.: We support them. And we'll speak at rallies and work together as much as we're able to. We don't have a mass organization yet, just cadres. We don't have too much personnel, but we will speak at rallies, we'll go to meetings, we'll pass out leaflets, and we'll say "Right on" to anybody who's against the war. When we go to a peace march, we will conduct political education there to the people who are at the peace march. We will also tell them, if they don't know, there are other things to deal with besides the war in Vietnam, like feeding children.

R.P.: There's something going on in this country here which is fascism, capitalism, that's a war against the people in the United States right here. They ain't going to do that much to stop the war in Vietnam till we stop the war here.

What would you say to sum up?

R.P.: All power to the people! All power belongs to the people. You know that, don't you? You know the people are supposed to be running the system, but right now capitalism is running the system. People with bread. We say: "All power to the people!"

HEALTH FOR PROFIT

Bitter Pill for the People

Last in a series of three. Reprinted from the Health Policy Advisory Center *paper,* Health-Pac, *located in New York.*

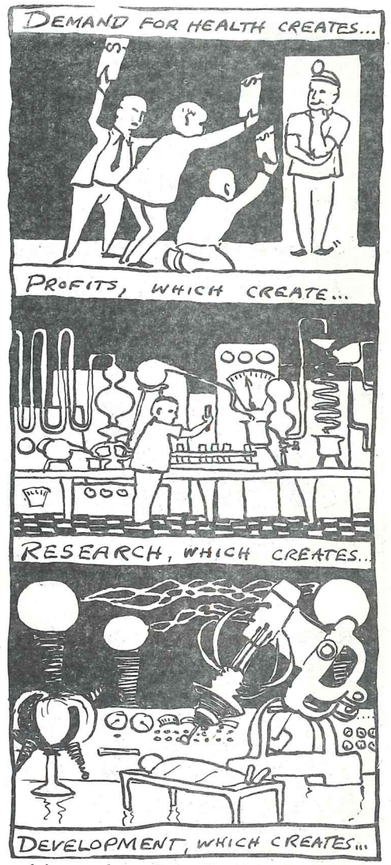
What put the profit into the traditionally "charitable" nursing home and hospital business? Medicare, more than anything else, is underwriting the boom, The expansion of Blue Cross and commercial insurance coverage has helped, of course, to create hosts of paying customers for the health service business. Clever management is another factor. Nursing home and hospital companies are able to cut costs through economies of scale, such as bulk purchasing for an entire chain of facilities, centralized administration, etc. But the voluntary (private, nonprofit) health sector also did much to set the stage for the entrance of the energetic profit-makers. Local voluntary hospital establishments, working with Blue Cross and the regional health planning agency, have done much to keep down the number of hospital and nursing home beds—creating a shortage which the profit-makers are eagerly filling.

Nursing homes are the ideal way to cash in on Medicare and Medicaid. Every oldster is at least partially covered and every oldster is a potential customer. Some of the largest publicly-owned nursing home companies are: Extendicare, Four seasons Nursing Centers of America, Medicenters of America (a franchise system owned by Holiday Inns), and American Automated Vending Corp. All are expanding; for instance, Four Seasons projects 100 additional homes per year. Some buy existing homes; others build their own. Some operate their own homes; others are selling franchises.

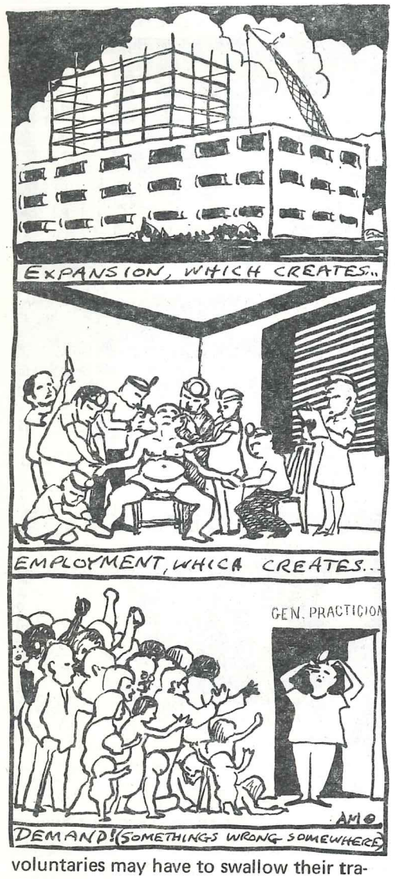
If hotels are profitable, nursing homes ought to be profitable. But hospitals would seem to be another matter. Costs are wild; manpower is scarce and often not sympathetic to the patients; funds are unreliable. To make a profit out of hospitals, you would have to forget all the old voluntary-sector inhibitions about hospitals as "a sacred trust" and a public service. This is exactly what the new hospital companies are doing. They select well-to-do neighborhoods and turn away any non-paying patients who might find their way in. They avoid out-patient and emergency services insofar as possible. They encourage short-term patients in order to gain a high turnover rate. (the first few days in the hospital pay the most.) They avoid expensive and difficult technology by concentrating on simple illnesses and elective surgery and by contracting out for services such as pathology and radiology.

Wherever they spring up, profit-making hospitals offer stiff competition for the local voluntaries. First they sell stock to local doctors, guaranteeing themselves a large medical staff and plenty of private patients. And of course the doctor/stockholders have a special interest in keeping the hospital running efficiently and profitably. Once in operation, the profit-maker skims off the cream of the local patient crop from nearby voluntaries—the not-too-sick, able-to-pay patients. Having cut costs in all the ways listed above, the profit-maker is then able to lure nurses away from local voluntaries by offering higher salaries.

What's most insulting is for a profit-maker to parasitize off a local voluntary—setting up shop near a voluntary which can handle patient-rejects and unprofitable services like obstetrics and out-patient care. This happened recently in Fort Meyers, Florida, where the Hospital Corporation of America (HCA) decided to locate a new 150-bed profit-maker near the already-underused voluntary Lee Memorial Hospital. When Lee Memorial protested against being left with the dregs of the patient supply, HCA president responded: "As proprietary hospitals we pay taxes. These taxes help support the tax-supported hospitals [voluntaries] which are in business to care for the nonpaying patient and were established for that purpose." Lee Memorial never intended to be *that* charitable, and is ganging up with the local power-structure to drive out Nashville-based HCA. A recent *Fort Meyers News-Press* editorial was entitled "No Fast-Buck Hospital Needed Here."



If the hospital boom continues, it is likely to run into more and more organized opposition from voluntaries. Much of the opposition will be, on the surface at least, on moral grounds, although it is not clear why profits made by hospitals are any less "moral" than profits made by drug and hospital supply companies. The voluntary hospital leaders in many localities may be especially resentful because the men who head up hospital companies are not, by and large, the kind of men who would ever be chosen as trustees and directors of voluntaries. American Medicorp, which does business primarily in the South and Midwest was founded by a couple of young lawyers from theNorth. The chairman and founder of HCA is an ex-retail druggist who made his first fortune in the Kentucky Fried Chicken chain of drive-ins. To fight the profit-making intruders,



voluntaries may have to swallow their traditional antipathy to government "interference" and lobby for tougher laws regulating licensing and operation of hospitals.

In case government regulation is in the cards, many profit-making hospital companies are already one step ahead of the game—busily diversifying into hospital-related businesses. Beverly Enterprises, which owns 18 hospitals and nursing homes, is forming Career Development Corp., to train health personnel at a profit. Metrocare Enterprises, owner of nine acute care hospitals, has purchased a construction firm and plans to build complete medical centers. Other companies are developing firms to provide ancillary services to hospitals. For instance, American Medical Enterprises, Inc., owns Cario-Pulmonary Services of America, Inc. (inhalation therapy); American Medicorp, Inc. has purchased Metropolitan Diagnostic Labs, Inc.

Coming from the other direction, a number of outside companies are diversifying into the profitable nursing home and hospital field. American Hospital Supply Corp. owns American Health Facilities, Inc., which constructs and furnishes nursing homes. Computer Research, Inc., runs Mental Retardation Cneters, Inc.; and Cenco Instruments, Inc., has joined a nursing home consortium in Milwaukee.

Up From Charity

The health industry has come a long way from the days of the one-horse patent medicine peddler with his line of liver pills and elixirs. Replacing him are the mammoth, internationalist drug companies, whose corporate medicine chests are increasingly likely to include hospital supplies, computers and cosmetics along with a growing profusion of pills. Health insurance, which can trace its origins to pre-trade union workers' welfare funds, is now a key element of the nation's vast insurance industry. The hospital supply industry has outgrown its bandaid days and is branching into catheters, computers and artificial organs. Proprietaries, which used to be the dark horse of the delivery system, are forging multi-state chains and moving into more and more investors' portfolios. Two other components of the modern health industry bear watching: the hospital construction industry and the health policy consulting business. The "health consultants" of 50 years ago was likely to be the neighborhood barber; today they include defense-oriented think tanks like Rand, the Institute for Defense Analysis and Research Analysis Corporation.

The health industry has changed rapidly in the last five or ten years, that is, in the short period that the federal government has begun to play an important role in regulating and subsidizing health services and products. Changes in the future may be just as rapid and unpredictable, but two trends seem to be almost built-in. First, the health industry will move increasingly into the mainstream of American industry. Corporate giants like Dow, Dupont, TRW, Lockheed are busily staking out their claims on the profit-rich health turf. Drug companies, once the heavy-weights of the health business, will be challenged by these newcomers. Second, the health industry will be pulling itself together into a more and more integrated monolith. The drug, hospital supply and hospital equipment industries have already begun to blur into a single "health products" industry. Profit-making hospital chains are creating vertical chains including construction and supplies and equipment. Insurance companies, so far aloof from the promiscuous merging in health products, may be about to take the plunge into hospital-operation, following the lead of non-profit innovators like Kaiser and HIP.

These developments in the health industry may have more impact on health services delivery than anything that happens in the next decade of medical research. What is emerging is an increasingly unified, significant sector of the U.S. economy with a major direct stake in the organization and finances of health services. In the past, drug companies dominated the health industry, and they picked up their policy line from between the drug ads in the AMA publications: up with solo, fee-for-service practice, down with government intervention of any sort. There's more to the health industry today than drugs, and many of the booming newcomers have market perspectives which reach far beyond the traditional, doctor-centered delivery system. And diversification into Medicare-subsidized, hospital-oriented products has seriously compromised the purity of the policy line of the drug companies.

It was Medicare that transformed the old bogeyman of government "interference" into a Santa Claus for the health industry. The drug industry and even the commercial insurance industry have found that they can live more than comfortably with Medicare and Medicaid. And, of course, it was Medicare that sent the hospital supply, equipment and proprietary chain industries spiralling giddily into a boom. Within a few years, the health industry may begin to outweigh organized consumer groups as the most powerful force lobbying for increased government subsidy for health services. The industry's interest, however, will be in subsidy with a minimum of regulation, as outlined, for instance, in some of the current proposals for a national health insurance. With national health insurance, the health industry could settle down to the kind of guaranteed security which the defense and aerospace industries enjoyed during the heyday of Cold War spending.

When it comes to the health services delivery system, the health industry is again likely to line up with the medical "liberals" as opposed to the AMA rearguard. Although only the proprietaries (hospitals and nursing homes) actually deliver services themselves, all segments of the health industry have an interest in increasing the productivity and efficiency of the delivery system. Insurance companies, which foot part of the bill, want to see health services become cheaper, or at least to see people utilize more of the cheaper services (e.g., clinic visits as opposed to hospital stays.) Drug and supply and equipment dealers have an interest in increasing the total volume of health services delivered, since, for almost every provider/consumer encounter, a prescription is written, equipment is used, or a disposable is disposed of. This interest is not compatible with a fixation on solo physician practice—the *least* productive means for delivering health services. In fact, as far as the industry is concerned, there is no reason why the dispenser of drugs or the user of supplies and equipment should be a physician at all. The health industry may eventually join the ultra-liberal faction of the medical world in advocating group practice and extensive use of paraprofessionals (if not machines) in direct patient contacts.

The hospital equipment industry has an even more immediate interest in the development of more centralized, institutionalized health services delivery systems. The market for heavy hardware such as computers, patient-monitoring devices, multi-phasic screening equipment, etc., is necessarily health facilities which serve a large number of patients—rather than private offices. Furthermore, in order to absorb such equipment, health facilities must be moderately rational in their internal operations. (There's no point in getting a computer unless some of the hospital's operations are at least rational enough to program into it.) Looking beyond the individual facility, computer and electronics companies even have an interest in rationality at the regional level, i.e., in the development of multi-facility, regionally integrated, health systems. The multi-hospital medical empire is the ideal market for computers to book admissions, for super-speciality hardware, and for TV systems to link outposts with centralized technical staff.

The danger in increasingly centralized, institutionalized health delivery networks is, of course, that they will eventually get wise to the health products industry. Bulk buyers of pills, supplies and equipment could begin to exert significant leverage over prices and quality even before government regulation becomes a serious threat. However, if government subsidy of the health services delivery system is generous enough, hospitals will probably go on as they are now—hardly bothering to ask the price of pills and supplies. So long as the government is standing by to pick up the tab, the health industry's interest is in a delivery system which is boundlessly productive and mindlessly extravagant: organ transplants should be prescribed as frequently as tranquilizers are today; normal people should periodically have their blood cleaned out with an artificial kidney machine; "search and deatroy" operations should become part of normal diagnostic work-ups; and so on.

To say that the health industry has an interest in a certain kind of delivery system is one thing; whether it can do anything about it is another question. So far the answer is yes—the health industry is developing increasingly effective ways of influencing public and private policy in health services delivery. At the most obvious level, the very existence of equipment which can be used only in hospitals, of insurance which can be used only for hospital care, etc., gives hospitals an edge over non-institutional delivery modes. At the level of government policy, the health industry can always join oil as an industry-wide lobby, testify in Congressional hearings, etc. Already, health industry people are beginning to show up regularly on important governmental panels and commissions. For instance, the McNerney Taskforce on Medicaid and National Health Insurance includes the Director of Prudential Life Insurance Company. The Piel Commission, which was the launching pad for New York City's new Health and Hospitals Corporation, included the chairman of the board of the Systems Development Corporation, a leading consulting firm in health.

Growing Rapport

There are more direct and intimate ways in which the health industry influences and interacts with the delivery system. Trustees and upper-level staff of medical schools and hospitals are always welcome on the boards and top-staffs of health industry firms. Many hospital and medical school professionals moonlight as consultants to the health industry, thus acting as human bonds between the two worlds. Consulting in the other direction, industry to nonprofit delivery institutions, is more important in terms of volume and potential policy impact. For instance, Technomics Corporation, a consulting firm with links to the defense hardware industry, did much of the staff work for the Piel Commission. Another consultant, MacKinsey Corp., is under contract to get the Corporation off the ground. Interestingly enough, such consultants' recommendations invariably feature heavy use of computers and other expensive hardware. And, as hospitals install more and more sophisticated "systems," executives with backgrounds in health industry firms are increasingly moving into jobs in hospital administration.

No one seems to be too alarmed about the growing rapport between the health industry and the health services delivery system. Far from it—it's become fashionable to look to the profit-motivated health industrial forces to lead the way out of the health services crisis. According to this view, what's been wrong with health services all along is that they've been isolated from the business world, cut off from "hard-headed management thinking," and or course, without the profit motive, "unstimulated to really produce." But there is no reason yet to trust that the "rationalizations" that the health industry brings to health services will look like rationalizations to the consumer. Judging from America's experience with the drug industry—the consumer can expect no mercy from the new Medical-Industrial Complex.

LETTERS

'Register Smears Irish Rights Struggle

To the Editor:

Mr. John Chamberlain visited Ireland recently and sent some reports to the **Register** (December 29, 31 and January 5.) I am sure that the Rev. Ian Paisley could find little to disagree with in them—except for the fact that he is called a "Right-Wing Demagogue". I would like to make some comments.

Miss Bernadette Devlin champions the cause of working-class civil rights—Catholic and Protestant alike. She stressed this point during her recent U.S. tour but the mass media here chose to ignore this fact and continued to report on the religious struggle in Northern Ireland—when in fact it has always been and still is basically a class struggle. The Capitalistic system of government in Northern Ireland breeds hate among Catholic and Protestant workers while offering to both a future of unemployment or emigration. Miss Devlin and her comrades in People's Democracy stress the need for Protestant and Catholic workers to unite and fight their common enemy—the Stormount Government.

Mr. Chamberlain's first report "What Bernadette Devlin Doesn't Know" reads like a Stormount propaganda piece. It is true that many foreign companies have opened factories in Northern Ireland recently but:

1. These companies were attracted by the prospect of low wages and weak trade unions, both of which were to be found in Northern Ireland.

2. The new factories are concentrated in the Belfast area where the capitalists have their power-base.

3. All positions of responsibility are held by foreigners; there are no programs to train native workers.

If the **Register** reporter had taken the time to speak to the workers—he claims to be an industrial reporter and ignores workers—he would learn of the long hours, low wages, lack of any fringe benefits and other working conditions of these poor people. In short his picture would not be so rosy.

His second report claims that the workers are not interested in revolution. He mentions how the Catholic and Protestant workers in the Belfast shipyard passed a resolution condemning sectarian violence, which indicates that they are concerned about their own rights. These rights will not be granted under the present political system. The workers will, and even do, realize this and will act accordingly. They will not be deterred by bureaucrats, conservative trade unions or anyone else.

In his third report, Mr. Chamberlain makes a personal attack on Miss Devlin which, in my view, is uncalled for. She has been one of the first to admit that there are Catholic bigots in Ireland. When she and the People's Democracy speak of a free Ireland, they do not mean a Catholic Ireland—they look to Dublin and see that the regime there is no better than Stormount. They speak of an Irish Socialist Republic. Free from Capitalism—green and orange.

From my own personal experience, I know that the working-class Irish-Americans are the section of the Irish community in this country that supports Bernadette Devlin. The affluent Irish have nothing to offer but criticism. They realize that their counterparts in Ireland are Green and Orange Tories. They cannot be expected to support workers' civil rights.

Having made my comments, I would just like to add that on reading these reports I was disgusted and disappointed by their inaccuracy, their shodiness and their superficiality. "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing." It is to be hoped that the **New Haven Register** will accept its grave responsibilities to the public in a more serious fashion in the future.

Donal Hurley
Branford

Bernadette Devlin speaking in New York on her tour throughout the United States to raise money for the people of Northern Ireland at the end of last year.

AIM Newsletter

QUOTES FROM THE PAST

All men recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny and its ineffic inefficiency are great and unendurable. . . All machines have their friction. But when the friction comes to have its machine, and oppression and robbery are organized, I say, let us not have such a machine any longer.

Henry David Throeau, 1849

An oppressed people are authorized whenever they can to rise and break their fetters.

Henry Clay, politician, 1818

cont. from p. 2

Panther Defense Groups

being employed by the prosecution. On February 5, Judge Mulhvey refused to modify the unconstitutional conditions of pre-trial detention, saying that it would be unprecedented for the court to intervene in the operations of the state correction systems. However, on October 6, at a meeting with Commissioner Ellis McDougall, head of the State Corrections Department and the State Corrections Commission, the Commissioner stated that he "didn't have the facilities to make a distinction in the treatment of pre-trial detainees as opposed to convicted persons." When Attorney Catherine Roraback vigorously opposed this attitude, she was pointedly told by a member of the Commission that she "could always seek redress through the court!"

Thus, the state continues its buck-passing, which results in punishment of the defendants before they have even been tried.

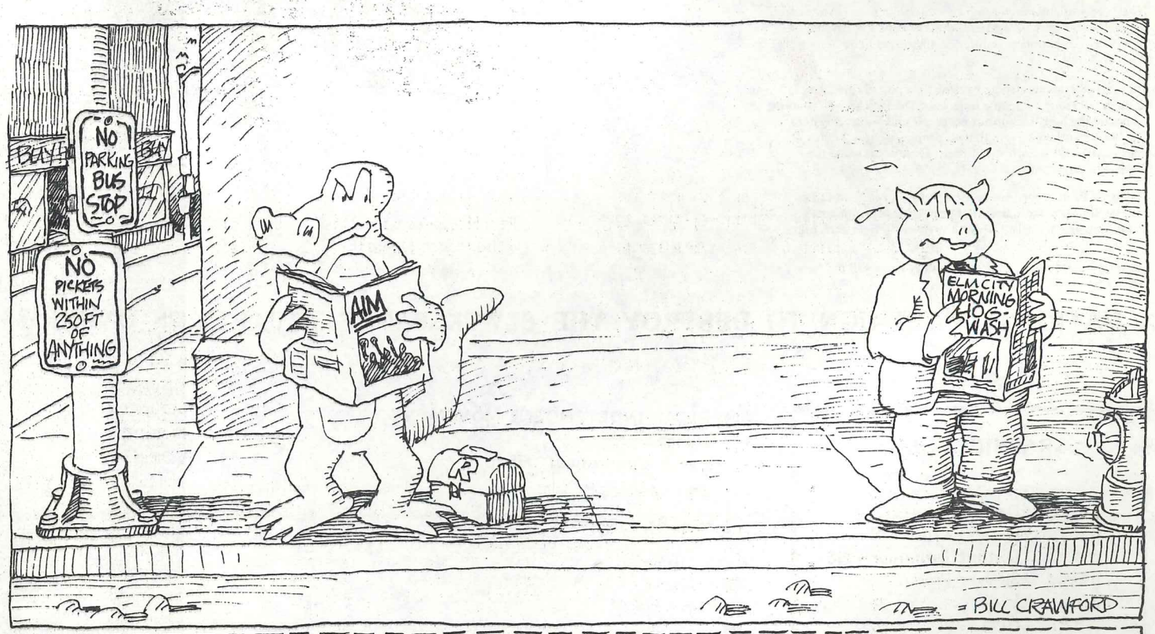
—Bob Abramovitz

Giaimo Ducks I$$ues

While suburban Connecticut Democrats were busy this weekend making plans to run Third District's reactionary, know-nothing Representative, Robert Giaimo in the primaries for governor, indications are that Giaimo isn't fooling the younger generation any. On a recent tour of Hillhouse High School, Giaimo encountered representatives of **Power 101**, an underground paper run by black students. They asked Giaimo his opinion of Nixon's appointing Moynihan, a white man, to report on black people. Giaimo tried to duck the issue, but **Power 101** kept after him, until he lost his temper and asked them, "Do you want two separate governments?"

Power 101 replied: "We weren't asked to be brought here, as blacks, or to be killed off by the millions. Mr. Giaimo places the dollar above human worth and feeling...**Power 101** says, . . . "later for you, Robert $. Giamo. *We want a government who's interested in helping the people, not oppressing them.* All power to the people, not to Bob Giamo—he's not for the people."

—Mike Sand



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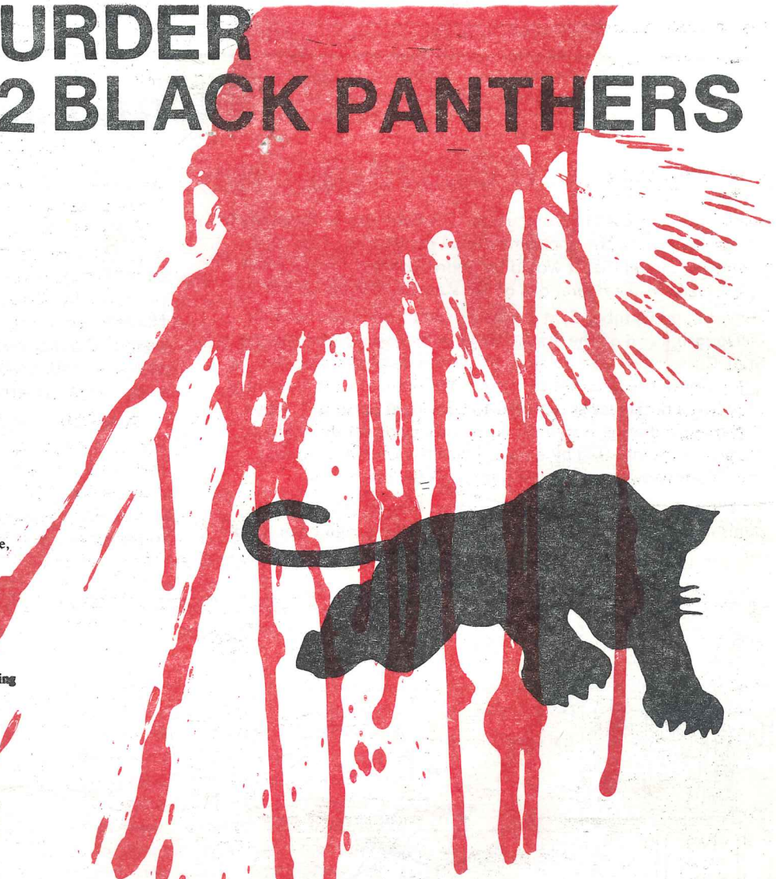
POLICE MURDER
22 BLACK PANTHERS



CHICAGO–DECEMBER 4, 4:40 am
Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark killed, seven other Black Panthers wounded.

We were told: Panthers started shootout.

The facts: no bullet holes were found weher police entered–almost all bullet holes around bed where Hampton was shot.

We were told: two policemen wounded.

The facts: Policemens' wounds were from flying glass and possible richochet bullets.

We were told: Hampton and Clark killed in gun battle.

The facts: independent autopsy showed Hampton and Clark shot while lying in bed.

The Afro-American Patrolmen's League (Black Chicago Police Organization) said the deaths were "an obvious political assassination."

Mayor of Maywood, Illinois, Leonard Chabals, called the shootings: "a blatant act of legitimized murder."

LOS ANGELES–DECEMBER 8, 5 am
300 policemen raid Black Panther headquarters using dynamite, wounding 3 of 13 Panthers in building.

"This is part of a national program of police repression against the Panthers. I have no evidence that the Panthers have taken the offensive in shooting people." –California State Senator M. Dymally

These attacks are happening because the Panthers are a threat to the small group of people in power. The Panthers are working to expose the injustices of our economic and political system. The Black Panthers believe that all people–whatever color–must control the wealth and power. These ideas make the Black Panthers a political threat.

The Black Panthers are not racists. They do not fight racism with racism. It is capitalism that protects itself from attack by encouraging black and white Americans to fight each other.

For information about the Black Panther Party call the New Haven Chapter at 562–7463.

A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO DESTROY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY IS UNDERWAY

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